

## Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-12

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 NRC-05 SOE-02 AF-10 ARA-10

CIAE-00 DODE-00 EA-10 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 IO-13

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FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

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C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 15917

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: UR, US

SUBJECT: USA INSTITUTE DIRECTOR ARBATOV ON US-SOVIET  
RELATIONS

REF: MOSCOW 15727

1. IZVESTIYA JULY 8 PUBLISHES EIGHT-PARAGRAPH SPEECH  
OF USA INSTITUTE DIRECTOR GEORGIY ARBATOV DELIVERED  
AT JULY 6 SUPREME SOVIET SESSION FOLLOWING GROMYKO'S  
PRESENTATION (REFTEL). SPEAKING AS THE DELEGATE FROM  
HIS DISTRICT IN AZERBAIJAN, ARBATOV GIVES SOLID BACKING  
TO THE CPSU FOREIGN POLICY WHICH HAS RESULTED , IN HIS  
VIEW, IN A "SHIFT FROM 'THE COLD WAR' TOWARDS THE  
RELAXATION OF INTERNATIONAL TENSIONS", BUT SCORES  
"SEVERAL TENDENCIES IN US POLICY" WHICH "ARE CREATING  
A DANGER (OPASNOST) FOR THESE POSITIVE CHANGES" OF  
RECENT YEARS.

2. ARBATOV STATED THAT "THE FIRST STRETCH OF THIS  
DIFFICULT ROAD OF DETENTE" HAS BEEN  
TRAVELED. IT WAS UNDERSTOOD FROM THE BEGINNING BY THE  
CPSU, AND ESPECIALLY BREZHNEV, THAT THE ROAD  
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CHOSEN WOULD BE ONE "OF STRUGGLE". ONE ACCOMPLISHMENT,  
HOWEVER, HAS BEEN AN ENTIRE SYSTEM OF TREATIES AND  
AGREEMENTS PROVIDING SUPPORT FOR THE PRINCIPLE OF PEACE-  
FUL COEXISTENCE OF STATES WITH DIFFERENT SOCIAL SYSTEMS.  
INCLUDED ARE AGREEMENTS WITH FRANCE, THE FRG, OTHER  
EUROPEAN AND ASIAN AND AFRICAN COUNTRIES AS WELL AS  
THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT.

3. TURNING TO THE U.S., TO WHICH HE DEVOTES ABOUT HALF HIS SPEECH (AS PUBLISHED), ARBATOV SAYS THAT THE TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS SIGNED BY THE TWO POWERS BEGINNING IN 1972 HAVE GREAT SIGNIFICANCE. THESE INCLUDE "THE FIRST, THOUGH INSUFFICIENT, BUT NONETHELESS IMPORTANT STEPS" OF ARMS CONTROL. "THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT THE FOUNDATION STONE FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS WAS LAID" BY THESE AGREEMENTS. ARBATOV GOES ON, HOWEVER, TO CITE SEVERAL TENDENCIES IN U.S. POLICY WHICH REPRESENT A "DANGER" FOR THE POSITIVE CHANGES ACHIEVED TO DATE: "THE INTENSIFYING ATTEMPTS TO STEP UP THE ARMS RACE" AND THE "ATTEMPTS OF INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THE SOVIET UNION, OTHER SOCIALIST STATES, AND IN GENERAL STATES WHOSE SOCIAL SYSTEM AND POLITICAL COURSE ARE NOT TO WASHINGTON'S TASTE." ON THE LATTER, ARBATOV DECLARES THAT "ANTI-SOVIET INTRIGUES AND PROVOCATIVE TRICKS IN THE STYLE OF 'PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE' ARE INCOMPATIBLE" WITH DETENTE.

4. ARBATOV CONCLUDES THAT THE FACT THERE ARE NOT A FEW DIFFICULTIES IN U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS SHOULD NOT OCCASION SURPRISE. TO A SIGNIFICANT DEGREE THEY RESULT FROM THE EFFORTS OF U.S. DOMESTIC CIRCLES WHOSE INTERESTS ARE TIED TO THE ARMS RACE AND EXPANSIONISM.  
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HOWEVER, ARBATOV CONTINUES, IT IS CLEAR THAT THE SPIRIT OF THE TIMES AND THE REALITIES OF THE CURRENT EPOCH HAVE NOT PASSED THE U.S. BY, FOR THERE IS EVIDENCE THAT THE "RECIDIVISTS OF THE COLD WAR IN WASHINGTON'S POLICY" HAVE RECENTLY AROUSED CRITICISM AND CONCERN IN THE U.S. ITSELF. ARBATOV WINDS UP HIS SPEECH ON A HOPEFUL NOTE THAT THE FUTURE LIES WITH DETENTE BECAUSE THERE IS NOT, AND CANNOT BE, AN ACCEPTABLE ALTERNATIVE WHICH IS RESPONSIVE TO MANKIND'S VITAL INTERESTS.

5. COMMENT - THE SPEECHES OF ELEVEN OTHER SUPREME SOVIET DELEGATES ARE ALSO PUBLISHED IN IZVESTIYA, AND THEY RUN ABOUT THE SAME LENGTH, WITH ONLY PASSING REFERENCE TO FOREIGN POLICY AND NO REFERENCE TO U.S.-SOVIET AFFAIRS. ARBATOV'S MESSAGE APPEARS TO BE THAT THE PROSPECTS FOR U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS ARE SOMBER FOR THE NEAR-TERM, BUT HOPEFUL OVER THE LONG TERM GIVEN THE NATURE OF DETENTE AND THE NUCLEAR AGE. ARBATOV PROBABLY COULD NOT BE EXPECTED TO ELABORATE HIS VIEWS ON BILATERAL RELATIONS IN THE WAKE OF GROMYKO'S FULLER TREATMENT OF THE SUBJECT AT THE SAME SESSION, AND THE LEGISLATIVE

BUSINESS AT HAND, BUT WE NOTE THAT HE AVOIDED COMMENT  
ON GLOBAL ASPECTS OF U.S. FOREIGN POLICY, INCLUDING  
AFRICA AND CHINA. TOON

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## Message Attributes

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